565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
•197 said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Adrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[799] [197] [648] Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad 563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an [173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Adenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead [221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamala well.

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Amezze du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

†Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

*A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

The Language

•197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to
162 Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about
30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adrar	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwllemmeden	161.160
Tengerregif	40.000

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamachek* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

291
564

Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanrasset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Rezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Iegal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isawe*ren. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

142
291
301
567

Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable for them to be garden owners.

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited almost exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

251
415

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésnit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the
[563] women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawəren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*ebokákkar*). Ahaggar, *Harrasin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamoche*ḳ but also have their own language which is said to be related to *Songay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

[4305]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 [168] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aɣeɣu* (pl. *iɣeɣan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *isgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiɣettewin* (sing. *téɣettèwt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but [184] it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaɣwaɣ* or *awarwâr* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,